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ABSTRACT

A sample of 769 students (male and female, black and white), enrolled in natural science, mathematics, business, and remedial reading classes at an urban community college were studied to explore the relationship (1) between racially militant beliefs of black (and white) college students and beliefs they hold about the control of their environment and (2) between the belief measured by four dimensions of race ideology and approval of racially militant groups in the community college and the techniques used by these groups. This study uses the following four of the seven dimensions of Gurin's Multidimensional Internal-External Scale: (1) the attitude of individual vs. system blame; (2) individual vs. collective action beliefs; (3) modifiability of the social system; and (4) racial militancy. Included in all the dimensions is the concept of personal control beliefs vs. ideological control beliefs. The six hypotheses are divided intc two parts. The first part examines beliefs in control as related to race. The second part examines relationships and differences associated with personal control and race ideology of black and white students. The results and implications of the study are considered in detail and suggestions for integrated colleges are offered. (CA)

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INTERNAL-EXTERNAL CONTROL BELIEFS AND RACIAL MILITANCY OF URBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGE STUDENTS

THE "PROBLEM" OF MILITANCY

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INFORMATION

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INTERNAL-EXTERNAL CONTROL BELIEFS AND RACIAL MILITANCY OF URBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGE STUDENTS

THE "PROBLEM" OF MILITANCY

Self-determinism, the power to decide one's own political and social futures, control of one's basic life affairs--are all reoccuring themes in the rhetoric of today's militant movement. Thus, the issue of control rather than access to equal opportunities may often determine the actions and positions of militancy. On the other hand, equality of opportunity in our society may ultimately be definted as the equal distribution of the control mechanisms within ethnic groups in society and/or equal control of the social factors which determine our quality of life. This aspect of racial militancy is sharply focused on many of today's college campuses.

Recently, the college used in this study has become the arena in which sharply focused racial and social views of various segments, of the student body have clashed. Some members of the black student population have become increasingly adament in their demands, white a portion of the white population responded with a rigid "backlash" of attitudes. This atmosphere generally puts undue strain upon the learning environment of this particular college. Colleges and universities, in other parts of the country also find themselves in this position. It then becomes important that colleges of this kind gain insight into the types of behaviors which are generating campus confrontation between races.

It is evident that many of the Black college students of today are bringing beliefs and behaviors to campuses which might be at odds with

the environments of integrated colleges and universities. Administrators have little information about the beliefs which form a background for such behaviors. Just as important to an integrated college is information about beliefs of white students on the same dimensions. The distances between these beliefs may operate against the social goals of a college.

The Sample

The community college from which the sample is taken serves a metropolitan community of more than a million people. It had had a phenomenal rate of growth since its opening in 1962--the first five years showed a 400 percent increase in student enrollment. There are two campuses and several academic centers. The campus from which the sample was drawn serves a diverse population. The students come from a variety of home and school backgrounds--integrated, all white and all black neighborhoods and schools, the full time enrollment is approximately 6,000; 26 percent of this enrollment is black students.

The sample of 769 males and females was recruited from students enrolled in natural science, mathematics, business and remedial reading classes. Of the 769 total 342 are female--183 white females, 159 black females; 427 males--315 white males, 112 black males. The students are mainly from working class backgrounds with more of the black students from lower working class homes than whites.

Theoretical Background and Related

The concept of internality-externality (I-E) of control is based upon the social learning theory of Rotter (1954, 1955, and 1960). According to this theory man's behavior is learned and determined by goals.

Individuals respond to their environment with the learned behavior that will result in the greatest satisfaction for a given situation. These behaviors can be generalized to include a class of related situations as perceived by the subject.

Phares (1957) developed the first emperical testing of Rotter's theory which was based upon measuring the expectancies held in regard to reinforcement which are culturally characterized as chance determined verses skill determined. Through several years of scale revision by Phares (1957), James (1947), and Liverant, Rotter and Seeman (1962) a 29 item force choice test was developed. It is through these studies that Rotter defines internality-externality of beliefs in control. Internal control represents the belief that rewards or reinforcements that the subject receives are dependent upon his own actions or behavior. The occurance of these reinforcements are believed by the subject to be under control through his own permanent characteristics (Rotter, 1966). Conversely, externality is the belief that events, rewards and reinforcements are not entirely contigent upon his own action or behavior. The subject believes reinforcements occur as the result of luck, chance, fate or as unpredictable because of the great complexity of forces surrounding him.

Research concerning the construct of internality-externality of beliefs in controls has indeed shown I-E to be related to a variety of behaviors. Relationships have been found to exist between I-E and conformity (Crowne and Liverant, 1962). Nuttal (1964) found that need for achievement and belief in control of reinforcements were related in a sample of urban Northern Negroes. Crandall, et.al. (1965) found positive correlation

between internal beliefs and academic achievement on report cards among a sample of children from grades, 6, 8, 10, and 12. Powerlessness as a socialogical construct parallel's Rotter's definition of externality. The studies of Seeman (1959 and 1963), Evans (1962) and Dean (1956) reveal a close relationship between powerlessness and externality. Strickland (1965) found a significant relationship between Black college students who were social actavists and their beliefs in internal control.

Of particular relevance to this study is the research of Gurin (1966-a, 1966-b, and 1969). Her studies are mainly concerned with aspirations and motivation of black college students as related to their beliefs in control of reinforcements. Her studies have yielded a modification of the Rotter scale. Gurin's Multidimensional Internal-External Scale has yielded results which are more predictive of motivational behaviors of Black subjects than the unrevised Rotter scale.

Most of the I-E studies with minority subjects in the sample show that black subjects generally express external beliefs in control of reinforcements. Gurin attempts to explore this externality as it relates to the beliefs black subjects hold about racial discrimination and poverty. Gurin has found that items expressing a generalized belief in control and items expressing a personal belief in control work in opposite ways. Thus, her measures reflect beliefs about the role of external and personal forces in the race situation.

The Gurin Multidimensional Internal-External Scale

This study uses four of the seven dimensions of the Gurin scale. (1) The individual versus system blame dimension measures the beliefs concerning the extent to which blacks themselves are responsible for

their socioeconomic position in the United States or how much can be blamed on the system (poverty and discrimination). (2) Individual versus collective action beliefs concern the extent to which blacks should exert individual efforts to overcome poverty and discrimination or exert collective efforts. (3) Modifiability of the social system concern the beliefs about the extent to which the system can be modified or changed. (4) Racial militancy beliefs are those which state a preference for confrontation tactics as opposed to the use of more socially acceptable ways of change in social problems. Included in the scales are measures of personal control beliefs, i.e. control beliefs cast in first person terminology and ideological control beliefs, i.e. how others control their environment.

For analysis, the data is separated by sex, race, and level of dimension scores.

Black males:
White males:
Black females:
White females:

High, middle and low groups on personal control and/or other dimensions

The major analysis of the study was the 2x3 analysis of variance. The independent variable in this 2x3 grid represents levels of personal control (internal, middle and external). The dependent variable changes for each hypothesis.

	Independent Variable (I)	Independent Variable (M)	Independent Variable (E)
Black	Dependent Variable B(I)	Dependent Variable B(M)	Dependent Variable B(E)
White	Dependent Variable W(I)	Dependent Variable W(M)	Dependent Variable W(E)

Figure 2 - Paradigm for Hypotheses 3-6

In Hypotheses Three through Six the dependent variable changes for each hypothesis. The independent variable across the top represents levels of personal control beliefs. The hypotheses are thus concerned with comparing B(I) - B (E) with W (I) - W (E).

Results

The basic concern of this study is to explore the relationship between racially militant beliefs of black college students and the beliefs they hold about control of their environment. The analysis is also concerned with a comparison of these beliefs with those of white college students.

The six hypotheses of this study can be organized into two divisions. Hypothesis one and two which examine beliefs in control as related to race would comprise the first division. The second division would contain Hypothesis three, four, five and six. This set of hypotheses examines the relationships and differences associated with personal control and race ideology of black and white students. The basic question for each hypothesis is stated from which the null and alternate hypotheses were constructed.

Hypothesis I: Does the relationship between ideological beliefs and personal control beliefs of black students differ from the relationship of these beliefs for white students?

The correlation between ideologocal belief scores and personal control scores for black male students was 0.34, while the correlation for white male students was 0.38. A test of the null hypothesis that these two samples have the same correlation *Walker and Lev, 1953, p. 255) yields a Ƶ value of 0.48.A Ƶ value of 1.64 is significant at the five percent level of confidence, therefore the null hypothesis is considered tenable for the male students.

The correlation between ideological belief scores and personal control scores for black female students was 0.0088, while the correlation for white female students was 0.478. A test of the null hypothesis that these two samples have the same correlation yields a Z value 4.690 which is significant at the one percent level of confidence, therefore the null is rejected.

Thus, it appears for females but not for males, that the relationship between personal control scores and ideological belief scores for white students is significantly greater than this same relationship for black students.

Hypothesis 2: On personal control belief measures are black students more external than white students?

A t test of the mean for personal control beliefs of black male students (1.6984) and white male students (1.9553) was performed. This test yielded a t value of 1.783 which is significant at the five percent level of confidence. Therefore, a t test of the mean for personal control beliefs of black female students (1.557) and white female students (2.100) was performed. This test yielded a t value 3.782 which is significant at the one percent level of confidence. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected. Thus, it appears that black students in this sample are more external than are white students on measures of personal control beliefs.

Division II

Race Ideology and Racial Militancy

Hypothesis three was constructed to answer questions about black students' beliefs in the social system in general and in particular about the system's relationship to the failure of black people in American society. The basic question if:

Hypothesis 3: Will belief in personal control have a greater influence on the individual versus system blame beliefs of white students than on the individual system blame beliefs of black students?

The two analysis of variance for unequal N's performed to test this hypothesis used male and females respectively. Table one includes the means and frequencies and Table two contains a summary of the analysis of variance for males and females. All other hypotheses in this division will follow this format.

Table 1
INTERNAL, MIDDLE, AND EXTERNAL MEANS AND FREQUENCIES
ON INDIVIDUAL VERSUS SYSTEM BLAME BELIEFS FOR
BLACK AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE
STUDENTS

		Internal	Middle	External	Total
MALES					
Black	Mean	2.318	2.625	2.295	2.375
	N	44	24	44	112
White	Mean	1.185	1.397	1.129	1.219
	N	157	73	85	315
	Total Mean	1.433	1.701	1.527	
FEMALES					
Black	Mean	2.140	2.385	2.381	2.296
	N	57	39	63	159
White	Mean	1.470	1.361	1.617	1.486
	N	100	36	47	183
	Total Mean	1.713	1.893	2.055	

TABLE 2

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF MODIFIABILITY OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM BELIEFS OF INTERNAL, MIDDLE AND EXTERNAL MALES AND FEMALES.

Group	Source of Variation	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Null Hypothesis
Males	Among Groups	1	0.0089	0.0090	-	not rejected
	Among Levels	2	1.1003	0.5501	18.205**	rejected
	Interaction	2	0.2113	0.1056	3.497*	not rejected[a]
	Within	421	12.7219	0.0302		
Females	Among Groups	1	0.5884	0.5884	22.577	rejected
	Among Levels	2	0.0946	0.0473	1.814	not rejected
	Interaction	2	0.0006	0.0003	-	not rejected
	Within	336	8.7577	0.0261		

$F_{.99}$ (2,421) = 4.66; $F_{.95}$ (2,421) = 3.02

$F_{.99}$ (1,336) = 6.74; $F_{.95}$ (2,336) = 3.03

When black students are tested against white students the obtained values of F for males and females are 67.328 and 28.300, respectively. When personal control is the independent variable (between I-E) the values of F for males and females which are 1.71 and less than one, respectively, are not significant since the F values of 3.02 and 3.03 are the values which would be exceeded only five percent of the time as a result of sampling variation if the null hypothesis were true. Consequently, the null hypothesis must be regarded as tenable in each of these cases.

Hypothesis three is concerned with the interaction effects. F values in this case are both less than one. Thus, the hypothesis of no interaction for males and females is not rejected.

Hypothesis Four is attempting to answer questions about beliefs of black and white students in the use of collective action Black Americans as the best approach to solving problems of poverty and discrimination. The same measure offers as alternative choices the belief in an individual approach--each Black American bettering himself educationally, employment, skillwise, etc.

Hypothesis 4: Will belief in personal control have a greater influence on the individual versus collective action belief of white students than on the individual versus collective action beliefs of black students?

TABLE 3
MEANS AND FREQUENCIES OF INDIVIDUAL VERSUS COLLECTIVE ACTION BELIEFS FOR MALE AND FEMALE STUDENTS WHO ARE INTERNAL, MIDDLE AND EXTERNAL ON PERSONAL CONTROL BELIEFS

		Internal	Middle	External	Total
MALES					
Black	Mean	1.023	0.792	1.068	0.991
	N	44	24	44	112
White	Mean	0.484	0.548	0.553	0.517
	N	157	73	85	315
	Total Mean	0.602	0.608	0.728	
FEMALES					
Black	Mean	1.000	0.923	0.777	.8931
	N	57	39	63	159
White	Mean	0.52	0.528	0.787	.590163
	N	100	36	47	183
	Total Mean	0.694	0.733	0.782	

TABLE 4

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF INDIVIDUAL VERSUS SYSTEM BLAME BELIEFS FOR INTERNAL, MIDDLE AND EXTERNAL BLACK AND WHITE MALE AND FEMALE STUDENTS

Group	Source of Variation	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Null Hypothesis
MALES	Among Groups	1	2.074	2.074	67.328**	rejected
	Among Levels	2	0.105	0.053	1.711	Not rejected
	Interaction	2	0.002	0.001	-	Not rejected
	Within	421	12.966	0.031		
FEMALES	Among Groups	1	1.0068	1.0068	28.300**	rejected
	Among Levels	2	0.0387	0.0194	-	Not rejected
	Interaction	2	0.0335	0.0167	-	Not rejected
	Within	336	11.954	0.0356		

$F_{.99}(1,421) = 6.70$; $F_{.95}(2,421) = 3.02$

$F_{.99}(1,336) = 6.70$; $F_{.95}(2,336) = 3.03$

When black students are tested against white students the obtained values of F for males and females are 25.250 and 14.510, respectively. From the table it can be seen that the probabilities for the occurance of these results are both greater than one in 100 and may be regarded as significant.

For the interaction effect F values of 3.02 and 3.03 for males and females, respectively are required in order to reject the null hypothesis at the five percent level of confidence. For males the F value is less

than that required for significance, so that the hypothesis of no interaction is not rejected for males. However, for females the F value of 3.973 exceeds that required for significance, so that the null hypothesis of no interaction is rejected for females.

However, the research hypothesis for interaction predicts a specific model for the interaction effect. The model for the interaction which yielded the significant F value in the analysis not match the predicted interaction thus, the null hypothesis must be considered tenable.

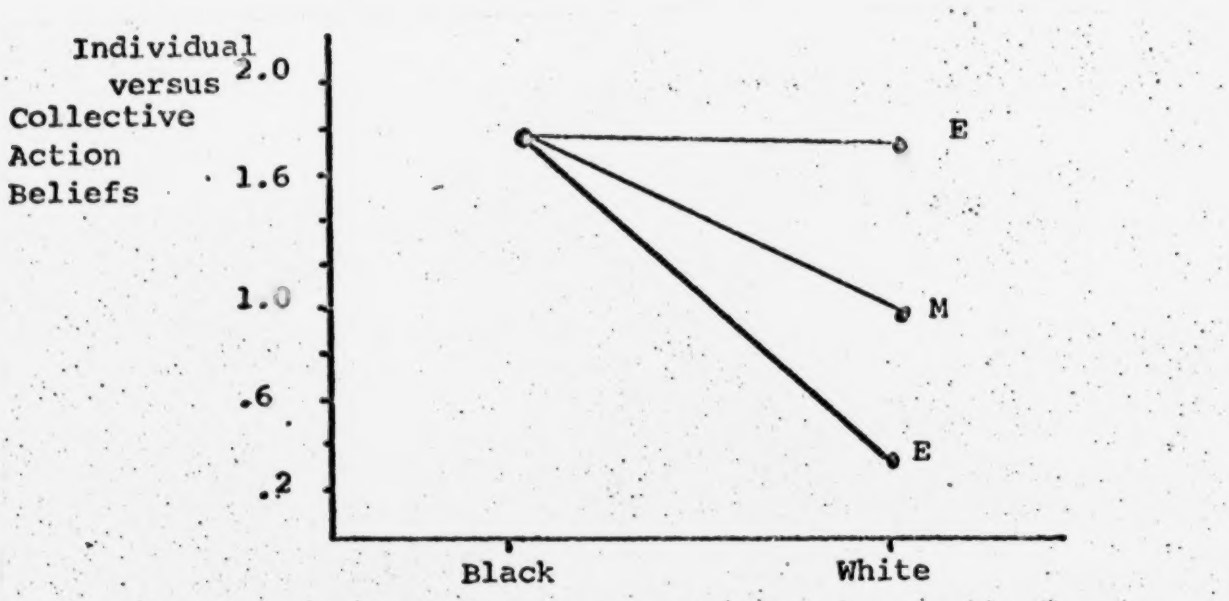
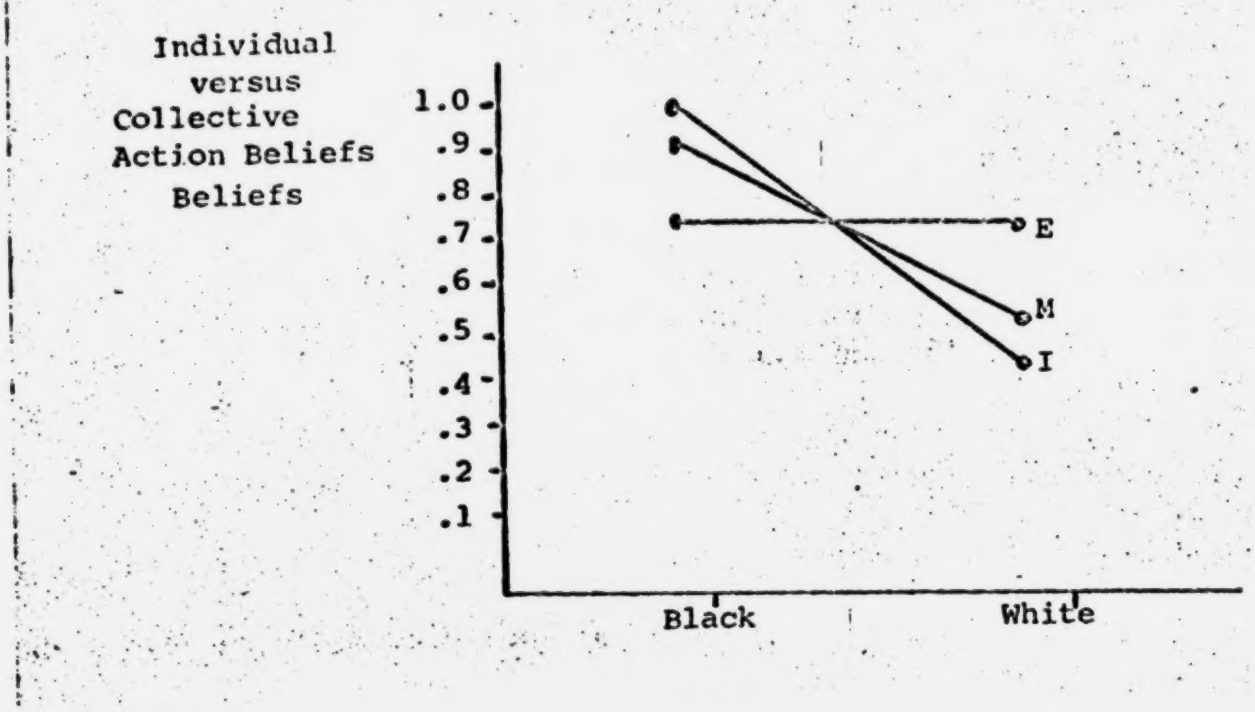


Figure 2 - Model for interaction effects for females between personal control beliefs and race on individual versus collective action

I = Internal on personal control
M = Middle on personal control
E = External on personal control

The interaction effect which yielded the significant F value in the analysis is illustrated in Figure 5



Hypothesis five concerns beliefs about whether or not human effort can change or modify the social system. In a very broad sense this dimension measures whether one still has hope that human and individual effort still matter.

Hypothesis 5: Will belief in personal control have a greater influence on the modifiability of the social system beliefs of white students than on the modifiability of the social system beliefs of black students?

TABLE 5

MEANS AND FREQUENCIES OF MODIFIABILITY OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM BELIEFS FOR MALE AND FEMALE STUDENTS WHO ARE INTERNAL, MIDDLE AND EXTERNAL ON MEASURES OF PERSONAL CONTROL BELIEFS

		Internal	Middle	External	Total
MALES					
Black	Mean	1.773	2.375	3.136	2.438
	N	44	24	44	112
White	Mean	1.854	2.658	2.541	2.225
	N	157	73	85	315
	Total Mean	1.836	2.588	2.744	
FEMALES					
Black	Mean	2.561	2.820	2.810	2.723
	N	57	39	63	159
White	Mean	1.920	2.222	2.170	2.043
	N	100	36	47	183
	Total Mean	2.153	2.533	2.536	

TABLE 6

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF MODIFIABILITY OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM BELIEFS OF INTERNAL, MIDDLE AND EXTERNAL MALES AND FEMALES.

Group	Source of Variation	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Null Hypothesis
Males	Among Groups	1	0.0089	0.0090	-	not rejected
	Among Levels	2	1.1003	0.5501	18.205**	rejected
	Interaction	2	0.2113	0.1056	3.497*	not rejected[a]
	Within	421	12.7219	0.0302		
Females	Among Groups	1	0.5884	0.5884	22.577	rejected
	Among Levels	2	0.0946	0.0473	1.814	not rejected
	Interaction	2	0.0006	0.0003	-	not rejected
	Within	336	8.7577	0.0261		

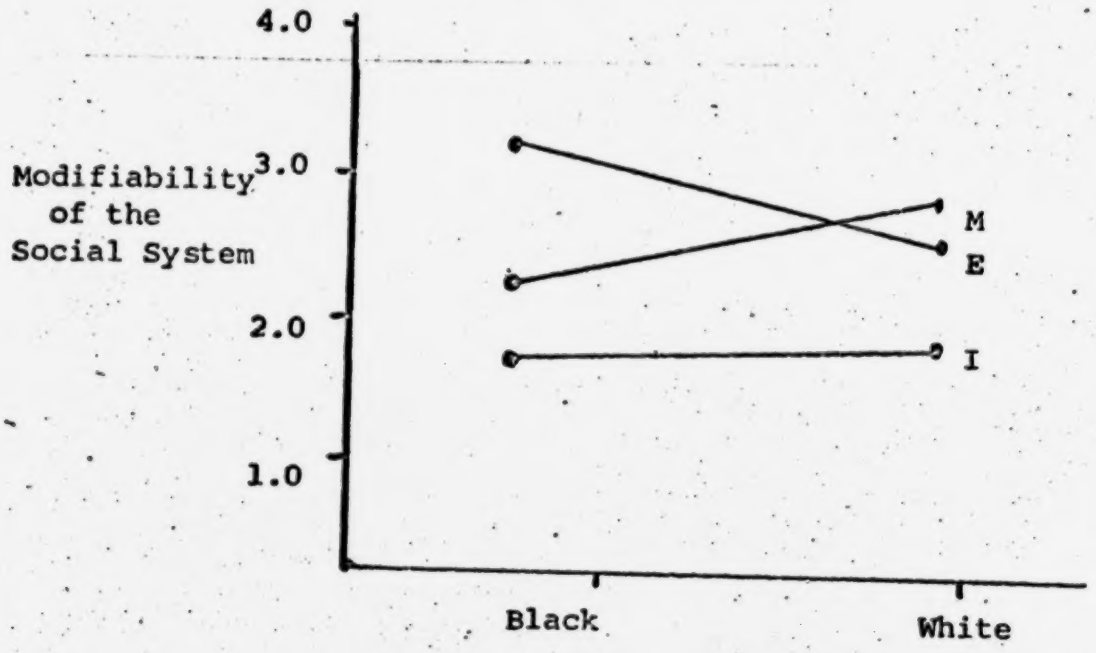
$F_{.99}$ (2,421) = 4.66; $F_{.95}$ (2,421) = 3.02

$F_{.99}$ (1,336) = 6.74; $F_{.95}$ (2,336) = 3.03

a. Although the F value is significant, the directional alternate hypothesis cannot be supported.

F values of 3.03 and 3.02 for males and females respectively are required for significance and for rejection of the null hypothesis at the five percent level of confidence. For males the F value is 3.497 and therefore higher than 3.03, while the F value for females is less than that required for significance. Therefore the hypothesis of no interaction must be considered tenable for females and rejected for males.

However, the hypothesis for interaction predicts the same pattern as that in figure one. In this case, the vertical axis would represent modifiability is illustrated in Figure 3. From a comparison of figures it can be noted that the two are not consistent. Thus the alternative hypothesis cannot be accepted and the null hypothesis must be considered tenable.



I=Internal on personal control

M=Middle on personal control

E=External on personal control

Figure 6 - Interaction effects for males between personal control and race on modifiability of the social system beliefs

It appears that the significant F value was due to the positive relationship between personal control beliefs and modifiability of the system beliefs for black students i.e, those who are internal on personal control are middle on modifiability beliefs and externals are external on modifiability beliefs. For white males a similar relationship exists, except that the external white students are middle in modifiability beliefs --and not as external as black males external in personal control beliefs. There appears to be no difference between internal black and white students on modifiability beliefs.

Table Seven presents the Newman-Kuels test for the significant value obtained between internal, middle and external groups on personal control for males. It may be noted that the mean score for external males was significantly different from the mean score for the middle group was significantly different from the mean score of the internal group. Thus, the significance of the overall F was due to a positive relationship between personal control and modifiability of the social system beliefs for males. That is, students who are internal on personal control are internal on modifiability of the system: those middle on personal control are middle on modifiability of the system and those who are external on personal control are external on modifiability of the system.

TABLE 7

NEWMAN-KEULS TEST ON BELIEFS IN SYSTEM MODIFIABILITY
BELIEFS FOR WHITE AND BLACK MALES INTERNAL,
MIDDLE AND EXTERNAL IN PERSONAL
CONTROL BELIEFS

Beliefs in Control		Internal	Middle	External
	Means	1.836	2.588	2.744
Internal	1.836	-	0.752	0.908
Middle	2.588		-	0.1560
External	2.744			-

$\sqrt{MS_{error}/\tilde{n}}$

$q_{.99}(r,421)$	r = 2	r = 3
	3.64	4.12
$q_{.99}(r,421)$	0.05518	0.06245

Beliefs in Control	Internal	Middle	External
Internal		**	**
Middle			**
External			

Hypothesis Six is concerned with racial militancy beliefs, i.e, whether the best approach to solving racial problems is for black people to act collectively and radically (confrontation tactics) or should Black Americans work through the culturally prescribed channels for dissent.

Hypothesis 6: Will personal control beliefs have a greater influence on the racial militancy beliefs of white students than on the racial militancy beliefs of black students?

TABLE 8

MEANS AND FREQUENCIES OF RACIAL MILITANCY BELIEFS FOR MALE AND FEMALE STUDENTS WHO ARE INTERNAL, MIDDLE AND EXTERNAL ON MEASURES OF PERSONAL CONTROL BELIEFS

		Internal	Middle	External	Total
MALES					
Black	Mean	3.068	2.583	2.909	2.902
	N	44	24	44	112
White	Mean	1.070	1.356	1.259	1.18
	N	157	73	85	315
	Total Mean	1.507	1.660	1.822	
FEMALES					
Black	Mean	2.526	2.513	2.492	2.509
	N	57	39	63	159
White	Mean	0.820	0.944	1.191	0.940
	N	100	36	47	183
	Total Mean	1.439	1.760	1.936	

TABLE 9

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF RACIAL MILITANCY BELIEFS OF MALES AND FEMALES INTERNAL, MIDDLE AND EXTERNAL ON MEASURES OF PERSONAL CONTROL

Group	Source of Variation	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Null Hypothesis
MALES	Among Groups	1	3.962	3.962	140.800**	rejected
	Among Levels	2	0.0154	0.008	-	not rejected
	Interaction	2	0.149	0.075	2.649	not rejected
	Within	421	11.846	0.028		
FEMALES	Among Groups	1	3.489	3.489	102.746**	rejected
	Among Levels	2	0.030	0.015	-	not rejected
	Interaction	2	0.043	0.021	-	not rejected
	Within	336	11.409	0.034		

$F_{.99}$ (1,421) = 6.70; $F_{.95}$ (2,421) - 3.02

$F_{.99}$ (1,336) = 6.74; $F_{.95}$ (2,336) = 3.03

Again, Hypothesis Five is concerned with the interaction effect. For males and females the obtained F values are smaller than those required for significance, so that the hypothesis of no interaction for males and females is not rejected.

Militancy: The Black and White Perspectives

The following tables summarize the findings for Hypotheses three through six. A general discussion of the results follows the tables.

TABLE 10

ANALYSIS RESULTS FOR BLACK AND WHITE FEMALE STUDENTS

Hypothesis	Interaction Variables	Dependent Variable	F	Null Hypothesis
3	Personal control and race	Individual versus System Blame	-	Not rejected
4	Personal control and race	Individual versus Collective Action	3.973	Not rejected[a]
5	Personal control and race	Modifiability of Social System	-	Not rejected
6	Personal control and race	Racial militancy	-	Not rejected

Division II

TABLE 11

ANALYSIS RESULTS FOR BLACK AND WHITE MALE STUDENTS

Hypothesis	Independent Variables	Dependent Variable	F	Null Hypothesis
3	Personal Control and race	Individual versus System Blame	-	Not rejected
4	Personal Control and race	Individual versus Collective Action	1.209	Not rejected
5	Personal Control and race	Modifiability of Social System	3.497	Not rejected[a]
6	Personal Control and race	Racial Militancy	2.649	Not rejected

a-Although the F value is significant, the directional alternate hypothesis cannot be supported

In general the differences in relationships between levels of belief in personal control and race ideology beliefs for white students and black students were not supported in this study. Although it was not hypothesized, the relationship between race and race ideology beliefs yielded significant F values for each analysis. It appears that race rather than levels of personal control beliefs is the major influencing variable for beliefs in race ideology.

However, for females a significant interaction did occur when levels of beliefs in personal control were tested against individual versus collective action beliefs (see Figure 3). In this instance white females were more external than predicted: external white females are as external on this dimension as external black females. In this case it is also interesting to note that the middle group of white females is more external than the internal white female group.

In summary, black male students in this sample on a generalized ideological level and on a personal level are more externally oriented than white male students. Black female students on a personal level are generally more external than white female students. On measures of race ideology, being a member of the black race becoems the single most important influence over an external belief on measures of racial militancy. These results support the suggestion of Gurin, et.al. (1969):

> In addition, there are class-tied obstacles to many kinds of opportunities and to resources which open up other opportunities, which may be perceived correctly by low income persons as external but not a matter of randomness or luck. For Negroes there is also the external factor of racial discrimination which operates over and beyond the class constraints they may or may not experience. Discrimination may be perceived as operating quite the opposite of chance--systematically, predictably, and reliably.

The dimension of system modifiability contains four items measuring beliefs about the human social system, the American social system and their probabilities of being changed. It measures beliefs about world affairs, political affairs, wars, and prejudice in American society. A significant F value for interaction was obtained, however, because it did not coincide with the predicted model, the null hypothesis was not rejected. The black male students on this measure show a high degree of consistency with personal control beliefs (as predicted for white males). On the other hand, white internal males were more external on modifiability beliefs than internal black males; middle white males were more external than middle black males or external white males. This interaction suggests several implications. For middle and external white males this may mean they believe that very little can be done about racial discrimination, that it is "part of human nature"; this orientation may be a potential source of conflict when black internal and middle males believe the opposite of middle and external white males: that "the racial situation in America may be very complex but with enough money and effort it is possible to get rid of racial discrimination." On the other hand, for white male students this measure may also indicate a general loss of faith in the possibility of changing the system. As campus conflict and student unrest continues there may be a rise in externality on this measure. In other words, this dimension may be measuring the roots of white militancy.

An additional part of this study attempted to explore the relationship between the belief measured by the four dimensions of Race Ideology and approval of racially militant groups in the college community and the techniques used by these groups.

Beliefs of black male students on collective action appears to have little relation to their approval of militant groups or militant techniques. However, for black females these beliefs in collective actions do influence their approval of militant techniques. Thus, on issues of poverty and discrimination the students in this sample are not so much polarized by beliefs about whether these system failings can or cannot be solved or by which methods they should be solved as they are by race alone.

Therefpre, it appears as though the racially militant black student is motivated towards militancy not by his basic beliefs in the validity or nonvalidity of the Protestant Ethic but most likely because of direct experience with poverty and discrimination and/or an increasing empathy for black people who are victimized by poverty and discrimination. Because of no significant interaction effect between personal control beliefs and race ideology and because of the significant role race has in determining race ideology beliefs, it would appear that this total student sample would generate much conflict over issues concerning poverty and discrimination.

The findings of this study also reaffirms that black students believe that "economic or discriminatory factors are more important than individual skill and personal qualities in explaining why they succeed or fail" (Gurin, et.al., 1969). The fact that the beliefs of whites don't agree with this position represents another source of polarization for the student body of this college.

It would appear that campus action over poverty and discrimination issues would probably generate few integrated coalitions of students. It also appears that the social climate of this campus is one of being

desegregated rather than integrated because of the strong influence of race on very volatile social issues such as the resolution of poverty and discrimination.

The black female students in this sample appear to be more external in race ideology beliefs than other students in the sample. This externality influences them to stronger approval and support of racially militant groups and militant techniques, i.e. confrontation tactics, rent strikes, community control of social agencies, school boycotts, etc. On the other hand, the white females appear to be the most internal group in this sample. Thus, it is interesting to note that the white and black females ar e the most polarized students in the samples.

In light of the culture carrier theory (Brooks, 1965) positions of males on the campus may be greatly determined by the females. They may represent a very strong source of influence over the beliefs about racial issues held by their male counterparts. Thus, the college involved in this study may find greater success in its social programs if these programs gain the approval and support of the females.

Any college such as the one from which the sample is taken must take deliberate steps in creating an environment in which externality oriented black students can move with ease. Because social problems such as poverty and racial discrimination assume high priority for these students their college must assure them by its actions that these same social problems also have high priority, that is reflected in its curriculum, philosophy, on-campus and off-campus activities. This type of college must become active in its approach to social problems in its community, and minority and majority students must be involved in deciding the direction and intensity of those actions. The non-traditional behaviors

such as racial militancy in this kind of environment may find a healthy fulfillment by acting upon the source of the externality. The integrated college of this type is very clearly challenged by its black students to break its traditional boundaries and bring the academic expertise closer to the realities of the black college student.

The results of this study as well as the Gurin studies interpreted within the broad context of today's social climate leads one to believe that racial militancy of black students will increase. If more and more black students are making this choice of supporting and actualizing a nontraditional behavior on a traditionally oriented college campus which does not make provisions for this behavior, then campus conflict will increase as militancy does. It is imperative that integrated colleges that find themselves in this posture become more externally directed where poverty and discrimination are concerned. The campus must not only continue to serve as the mediator of socioeconomic status but must also become the vanguard in social action. This added dimension to American universities and colleges may well be the greatest contribution the militant black student leaves to higher education.

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NAME _____

SEX _____

STUDENT
IDENTIFICATION NUMBER _____

QUESTIONNAIRE

This is a questionnaire to find out the way in which certain important events in our society affect different people. Each item consists of a pair of alternatives lettered a or b. Please select the one statement of each pair (and only one) which you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you're concerned. Put a circle around the letter in front of the statement of your choice. Be sure to select the one you actually believe to be more true rather than the one you think you should choose or the one you would like to be true. This is a measure of personal belief; obviously there are no right or wrong answers.

Please answer these items carefully but do not spend too much time on any one item. In some instances you may discover that you believe both statements or neither one. In such cases, be sure to select the one you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you are concerned. Also try to respond to each item independently when making your choice; do not be influenced by your previous choices.

Your name and student identification number will be used only to help in distribution of the questionnaire and to prevent duplication. They will not be identified with answers. Questionnaires will be separated according to sex.

REMEMBER

Select that alternative which you personally believe to be more true.

I more strongly believe that:

1. a. Children get into trouble because their parents punich them too much.

   b. The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.

2. a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.

   b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

3. a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.

   b. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.

4. a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.

   b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.

5. a. The idea that teachers are unfair is nonsense.

   b. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.

6. a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.

   b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

7. a. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.

   b. People who can't get others to like them, don't understand how to get along with others.

8. a. Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality.

   b. It is one's experiences in life which determine what they're like.

9. a. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.

   b. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.

10. a. In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.

    b. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work, that studying is really useless.

11. a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.

    b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

12. a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.

    b. The world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

13. a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.

    b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.

14. a. There are certain people who are just no good.

    b. There is some good in everybody.

<u>I more strongly believe that</u>:

15. a. In my case, getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.

    b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

16. a. Who gets to be boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.

    b. Who gets to be boss depends on who has the skill and ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.

17. a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control.

    b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs, the people can control world events.

18. a. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.

    b. There really is no such thing as "luck."

19. a. One should always be willing to admit his mistakes.

    b. It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.

20. a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.

    b. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.

21. a. Without the right breaks, one cannot be an effective leader.

    b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability; luck has little or nothing to do with it.

22. a. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.

    b. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.

23. a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.

    b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.

24. a. A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do.

    b. A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.

25. a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.

    b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck play an important role in my life.

26. a. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.

    b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.

27. a. There is too much emphasis on athletics in high school.

    b. Team sports are an excellent way to build character.

28. a. What happens to me is my own doing.

    b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.

29. a. Knowing the right people is important in deciding whether a person will get ahead.

    b. People will get ahead in life if they have the goods and do a good job; knowing the right people has nothing to do with it.

I more strongly believe that:

30. a. Leadership positions tend to go to capable people who deserve being chosen.

    b. It's hard to know why some people get leadership positions and others don't; ability doesn't seem to be the important factor.

31. a. People who don't do well in life often work hard, but the breaks just don't come their way.

    b. Some people just don't use the breaks that come their way. If they don't do well, it's their own fault.

32. a. It's lack of skill and abilities that keeps many black Americans from getting a job. It's not just because they're black. When a black American is trained to do something, he is able to get a job.

    b. Many qualified black people can't get a good job. White people with the same skills wouldn't have any trouble.

33. a. Racial discrimination is here to stay.

    b. People may be prejudiced but it's possible for American society to completely rid itself of open discrimination.

34. a. The best way to handle problems of discrimination is for each individual black person to make sure he gets the best training possible for what he wants to do.

    b. Only if black Americans pull together in civil rights groups and activities can anything really be done about discrimination.

35. a. The best way to overcome discrimination is through pressure and social action.

    b. The best way to overcome discrimination is for each individual black person to be even better trained and more qualified than

36. a. Many blacks who don't do well in life do have good training, but the opportunities just always go to whites.

b. Blacks may not have the same opportunities as whites, but many blacks haven't prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that come their way.

37. a. Black Americans would be better off, and the cause of civil rights advanced, if there were fewer demonstrations.

b. The only way black Americans will gain their civil rights is by constant protest and pressure.

38. a. The so-called "white backlash" shows once again that whites are so opposed to blacks getting their rights that it's practically impossible to end discrimination in America.

b. The so-called "white backlash" has been exaggerated. Certainly enough whites support the goals of the black movement for Americans to see considerable progress in wiping out discrimination.

39. a. If a black American tries hard enough, he can get ahead despite opposition from whites.

b. It's true that an individual black American can get ahead by hard work, but every black person will sometime face discrimination or opposition that can't be solved by individual effort alone.

40. a. Depending on bi-racial committees is just a dodge. Talking and understanding without constant protest and pressure will solve problems of discrimination.

b. Talking and understanding as opposed to protest and pressure is the best way to solve racial discrimination.

<u>I more strongly believe that</u>:

41. a. Many black Americans have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life. If they tried harder, they'd do better.

b. When two qualified people, one black and one white, are considered for the same job, the black individual won't get the job no matter how hard he tries.

42. a. The racial situation in America may be very complex, but with enough money and effort, it is possible to get rid of racial discrimination.

b. We'll never completely get rid of discrimination. It's part of human nature.

43. a. Organized action is one approach to handling discrimination, but there are probably very few situations that couldn't be handled better by black leaders talking with white leaders.

b. Most discriminatory situations simply can't be handled without organized pressure and group action.

44. a. The attempt to "fit-in" and do what's proper hasn't paid off for black Americans. It doesn't matter how proper you are, you'll still meet serious discrimination if you're black.

b. The problem for many blacks is that they aren't really acceptable by American standards. Any black person who is educated and does what is considered proper will be accepted and get ahead.

45. a. Discrimination affects all black Americans. The only way to handle it is for black people to organize together and demand rights for all blacks.

b. Discrimination may affect all black Americans but the best way to handle it is for each black individual to act like any other American -- to work hard, get a good education.

THE REMAINING QUESTIONS HAVE TO DO WITH YOUR PLANS AND YOUR SITUATION, PLEASE ANSWER ALL OF THE QUESTIONS. IF YOU CAN NOT BE ABSOLUTELY SURE OF THE RIGHT ANSWER, GIVE THE BEST ANSWER THAT YOU CAN.

46. How sure are you of the occupation that you expect to have? Check one item Sure _____. Fairly sure _____. Unsure _____.

47. Of the occupations you are sure you could have, name the one you prefer. _____

48. If you had free choice, which occupation would you choose?

_____

49. How sure are you of the amount of education you expect to have? Check one item Sure _____. Fairly sure _____. Unsure _____.

50. How much education do you expect to have? Check one item

_____ Less than two years of college.

_____ At least two years but less than four years of college.

_____ A four year college degree.

_____ Professional or graduate study after four years of college.

51. a. What is your father's occupation? _____

b. What is your mother's occupation? _____

52. Check the item that most closely describes the ethnic or racial group to which you belong. Be careful to check ONLY ONE item.

_____ American Indian

_____ Black, Negro or Afro-American

_____ East Indian

_____ Oriental-American

_____ Spanish-American

_____ White

53. What are your views about these groups? Check one view about each group.

	Strongly approve	Approve	Don't have an opinion	Oppose	Strongly oppose
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)	___	___	___	___	___
NAACP	___	___	___	___	___
Bi-racial councils	___	___	___	___	___
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)	___	___	___	___	___
Urban League	___	___	___	___	___
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)	___	___	___	___	___
Black Liberation Front	___	___	___	___	___
Black Economic Union	___	___	___	___	___

Nation of Islam (Black Muslims)	____	____	____	____	____
Black Panther Party	____	____	____	____	____
Afro-American Societies (College Campuses)	____	____	____	____	____
Council of Churches	____	____	____	____	____
Welfare Rights Organizations	____	____	____	____	____

54. What are your views about these techniques used to alleviate social problems today? Check one view about each problem.

	Strongly approve	Approve	Don't have an opinion	Oppose	Strongly oppose
Legal suits to change legal structure of segregation	____	____	____	____	____
School boycotts	____	____	____	____	____
Busing to achieve school integration	____	____	____	____	____
Voter registration	____	____	____	____	____
Rent strikes	____	____	____	____	____
Economic boycotts	____	____	____	____	____
Confrontation tactics	____	____	____	____	____
Lobbying	____	____	____	____	____
Writing letters to Congressmen	____	____	____	____	____
Community control of businesses	____	____	____	____	____
Community control of social agencies (schools, welfare offices, police, etc.)	____	____	____	____	____

55. Check one answer which best describes your relationship to each of these campus organizations.

	Some leadership	Actively participating	Support activity	Don't know about activity	Disapprove of activity
Student government	____	____	____	____	____
School newspaper	____	____	____	____	____
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)	____	____	____	____	____
Drama group	____	____	____	____	____
Afro-American Society	____	____	____	____	____
Athletic teams	____	____	____	____	____
Social fraternities or sororities	____	____	____	____	____
Black Liberation Front	____	____	____	____	____
Language clubs	____	____	____	____	____
College music groups	____	____	____	____	____
Student Mobilization Committee	____	____	____	____	____

56. Check one answer which best describes your relationship to each of the following groups in your high school.

	Some leader-ship	Actively partici-pating	Support activity	Don't know about activity	Disapprove of activity
Student government	____	____	____	____	____
School newspaper	____	____	____	____	____
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)	____	____	____	____	____
Drama group	____	____	____	____	____
Afro-American Society	____	____	____	____	____
Athletic teams	____	____	____	____	____
School band	____	____	____	____	____
Future Teachers of America	____	____	____	____	____
Language clubs	____	____	____	____	____
Science Club	____	____	____	____	____
Undergroung newspaper	____	____	____	____	____
School music groups	____	____	____	____	____